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BRITISH LABOR HESITATES ON
EDGE OF CRISIS

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HARDING AND HIS "NORMALCY" ARE BOTH OBSOLETE

Gompers Says Senator's Policy Is Almost Prehistoric

In the current issue of the **American Federationist**, official magazine of the American Federation of Labor, President Samuel Gompers has an article under the head of "Normalcy vs Progress" in which he deals with the reactionary statements made by Senator Harding and the anti-labor pronouncements of the Republican platform.

"The two leading candidates for the Presidency have defined clearly their attitude toward the great public issues of the day", writes Gompers. "In a sentence each has summed up his position. In effect Senator Harding says, 'Let us return to normalcy.' Governor Cox says, 'I am for progress.' Senator Harding does not use the word 'normal'; he speaks of 'normalcy.' The word is obsolete and so is the condition to which he would return."

Mr. Gompers continues to dissect the attitude of the two leading candidates toward vital issues in which labor is concerned as follows:

Forward or Backward

"Unquestionably in the mind of Senator Harding a return to normal means a return to the conditions that existed before the war—a return to

something that is past. Obviously it is impossible to return to something that is not past. It is clear then that in keeping with the spirit of the Republican platform Senator Harding's personal desire is to follow a course that leads backward and if elected to lead the nation in such a course.

"Governor Cox proclaims a desire to go forward and a determination to lead the nation in a forward course if he is elected to the Presidency.

"Both of these statements are abstractions and of themselves mean nothing beyond a definition of the general trend of thought of the candidates. The important fact is, however, that the platforms of the parties upon which these candidates stand and their own personal philosophies lead inevitably and naturally up to the conclusions found in those two brief utterances. Because that is so it is fair to accept them as broad though brief statements of general policy.

"Harding says, I am for going backward.

"Cox says, I am for going forward.

Return to "Normalcy"

"If it is Senator Harding's desire to follow a public policy which leads backward, and he has so expressed himself, he will but have to 'go along with' the declarations of the platform of his party.

"Insofar as concerns the issue most vital to labor the Republican party platform makes no acknowledgement of the right of the workers to organize into the trade unions and to elect their own representatives for consultation and negotiation with employers. Neither does the Republican party platform make any provision for the protection of the workers against unwarrantable use of the writ of injunction. The silence of the platform upon which Senator Harding stands on the question of injunctions in industrial disputes is most complete and profound.

"The Republican party platform interests itself in the question of strikes. The interest manifested, however, is clearly the interest of those who are looking backward and who would induce the nation to look backward with them. There are suggestions of tribunals, governmental investigations and the 'influence' of the public opinion, the whole plank constituting what labor has described as 'a denial of labor's demands' and contemplating 'the erection of government machinery for the coercion of labor and for the suppression and limitation of its proper, lawful and normal activities.' Senator Harding places himself whol-

ly in the spirit of such platform declarations when he says, 'Let us return to normalcy.'

No Promise of Relief

"The high cost of living is an issue felt in every home in the United States. Step by step the cost of living has been increasing since the armistice, even as it increased before the armistice, and there is today no more promise of relief than there was six months ago. The increasing cost of living has been in effect a reduction of the purchasing power of a dollar fully one-half.

"Those who earn today the same number of dollars they earned in 1913 and in the early months of 1914 are getting in real wages one-half the amount they earned then because of this reduction in the buying power of the dollar. To earn the same amount in real wages that they earned in 1913 the workers must earn twice the number of dollars, and there are thousands upon thousands who have not been able to advance their wages to any appreciable extent. Thus by a process that has been subtle and gradual thousands of Americans have had their wages reduced and their whole standard and manner of living altered.

Blow at Labors' Rights

"No single piece of legislation enacted by the last Congress was more hopelessly reactionary or constituted a more ardent defense and protection for the vested interests than the Commins-Esch railroad law. No piece of legislation enacted by that Congress struck more deeply at the heart of labor's rights than this law. The platform upon which Mr. Harding is a candidate declares that 'we endorse the transportation act of 1920 enacted by the Republican Congress as a most constructive legislative achievement.' This 'constructive' achievement was described by labor's analysis of the platform as 'in reality a denial of the lawful right of the workers to crease work'. Taking his stand upon this plank of the Republican platform Senator Harding would not merely return to the normal, he would return almost to the prehistoric.

They Favored "Normalcy"

"Joe Bailey of Texas attempted to induce the voters of that State to return to normal and the voters decided to send Mr. Bailey a great deal further back than that. In the Alabama primaries Senator Underwood, nominated six years ago by a majority of 44,000, found his majority reduced to 15,000 by an electorate that to that extent showed its determination not to return to normal. In Colorado Senator Thomas declined even to make the effort to induce the voters to return to normal by withdrawing from the race for reelection. In Oklahoma the nomination of Scott Ferris for United States Senator over Senator Gore was a clear indication of the edisire of the people of that State to go forward and not backward. In Pennsylvania Con-

gressman Dewalt withdrew as a candidate for renomination because of the expressed determination of the workers of his district to go forward. Congressman Willis J. Hulings, of Pennsylvania, carried his campaign for 'normalcy' to the voters in the primary election, where he was emphatically repudiated. Congressman Henry J. Steale in another district in the same State followed the course adopted by Congressman Dewalt and withdrew rather than make what he knew would be a futile effort in behalf of reaction. In Tennessee Congressman Sam R. Sells was opposed by the forward-looking forces of labor and again the expression of the people was against going backward and in favor of going forward.

Presenting the Facts

"No authority rests with anyone in the labor movement to say to anyone how his vote should be cast. The officers of the labor movement are charged only with the duty of presenting the facts. It is wholly within the scope of the duty of the officers of the labor movement, however, to say, as has been said, that the facts constitute a showing of superiority on the part of the Democratic platform and on the part of the Democratic candidate for the Presidency.

"There have been few Presidential elections in the history of America in which the issues were as vital to the great masses of our people, few in which the decision of the voters carried with it possibilities of such grave consequence.

"The interest of the great masses of our people can be best served only by the election, at the conclusion of this campaign, of the candidate whose declarations and whose record offer the best assurance of intelligence and integrity in the future. It is vital that there be success for the candidate and the platform which best understands the needs of the people and which most fully and most honestly pledges their satisfaction.

Vote for Human Progress

"The Republican convention 'turned its back upon labor,' and in so doing turned its back upon all our people except for that small minority which finds its occupation in the exploitation of the masses through special opportunities and special privileges.

"Every American worker, every earnest American citizen devoted to the cause of human progress and with a faith in the righteousness of the principles of freedom, justice, and democracy must strive ardently for the defeat of those who have turned their backs upon labor and upon the people generally and for the success of those who have attempted to meet with understanding and in a spirit of constructive progress the problems of the needs of the working people and of the great masses of all our people and must, if they be true Americans, bend every effort to that end."

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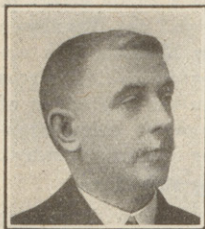
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Unrest In Scottish Schoolhouse and Manse

(From Our Own Correspondent).

Glasgow, Sept. 25.

SOME pointed remarks were made by Mr. Thomas S. Glover, of North Berwick, in his closing address at the annual general meeting of the Educational Institute of Scotland which gives an indication of the unrest among school teachers. His reference to the manse brought out the fact that ministers on existing salaries are unable to meet the expenses of the increased cost of living.



JAMES GIBSON

One could not be blind to the fact, said Mr. Glover, that the past year had not brought peace in the salary struggle. The feeling of unrest did not arise from a sense of irresponsibility, but from an enhanced appreciation of the relative value of the service teachers rendered to the States and from a grievous sense of wrong that the community was slow to remedy. It would be confessed that the ordinary community

was deplorably mean in paying those who ministered to it in things of the spirit. They grudged payment for such an intangible thing as education, the significance of which could be seen only after many years. The man who had some tangible commodity to sell got his price without a tithe of the grumbling, even though it might be 750 per cent of its pre-war rate. It was little wonder one had heard so persistently the bitter cry of occupants of the schoolhouse and the manse. Teachers realised that they were very responsible servants of the nation, and they might legitimately claim that they as citizens had a very high sense of duty to the community in which they were placed, and while they rendered cheerfully more than most to the common weal in the way of unpaid social service, they strongly objected to the obvious inclination to treat them as poorly paid missionaries.

There was a feeling abroad that in these days Scottish teachers were receiving munificent salaries, and that their remuneration compared favorably with that paid to teachers elsewhere, and was relatively much greater than was paid

in pre-war days. There were, to say the least, strong grounds for doubting these propositions. Before the Craik scale was accepted by school boards salary conditions were regarded by fair-minded men as scandalous. The Craik Report laid down what were at the time regarded as fair pre-war scales on the basis of prewar conditions. It was not as a temporary war measure but as a permanent necessity that the general remuneration of teachers was to be raised in order to maintain an efficient teaching profession in the interest of the country. He was sure that no reasonable person need be astonished at the dissatisfaction that found expression at every meeting of teachers, or that lads refused to have anything to do with a profession that made such offers. Male teachers were rapidly becoming an unknown quantity except in the higher branches of the profession.

An outstanding feature of the present situation was the growth of educational expenditure. Some talked lightly of that being no concern of theirs, but it was of vital interest to them, first, because they were citizens, and, second, because of its bearing on the educational and material conditions of the service they rendered to the State. They recognised with other citizens that economy in present circumstances was an absolute necessity in the interest of financial stability, but they believed that it would be suicidal for the State to economise on what concerned its very life. It was true economy to equip in the highest possible degree the rising generation for giving the most efficient service to the State, to increase to the utmost their productive power in the interest of national solvency. There had been a superabundance of clamour regarding that expenditure, some of it justifiable without a doubt, but much of it hysterical and unreasonable. No one who took a temperate view of the situation could be surprised that

the cost of education had not remained stationary. As in every other service increased expenditure was inevitable and that in respect of education had been no less justifiable. The complaint that increased cost had not been accompanied by greater educational efficiency was really naive and exceedingly quaint, though it had an abusive ring about it sometimes.

It was true there was no evidence of anything beyond a change in the administrative machinery and the carrying out of a statutory obligation regarding teachers' salaries. That both would lead to improvements there was no reason to gainsay, but there must be additional expenditure before the operation of the purely educational clauses of the Munro Act could justify expectations regarding educational advances. The whole financial outlook had been vitiated by adhesion to an effete system of rating that was wholly unsuited to modern requirements. The present rating conditions were one of the greatest stumbling blocks to educational advance. The system was full of injustice in its working, lacking in uniformity, and devoid of any common principle in its method of raising the local contribution for what were, after all, largely national services. There was the most heterogeneous assortment of abatements and exemptions, the variation from parish to parish producing the most amazing anomalies. The system was hopeless and ought to be replaced by some other system in accordance with which every citizen would pay his just share with due regard to the principle of ability to pay. It must be evident to everyone that the realisation of the Munro Act in its entirety would be an impossibility unless some more equitable plan be adopted.

Mr D. J. Young, Cowdenbeath, moved a resolution that the Institute instruct its representatives on the Joint Council to negotiate an

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the basis of the best scheme of salaries in operation for the purpose of arriving at a new minimum scale. He said this was a resolution which perhaps had more in the implication than in the actual wording of it. It was at first suggested by some members of the council that there ought to be appended to the resolution a scale of salaries which their joint representatives were to ask when they got into conference. The Salaries Committee of the council had drawn up a scheme of salaries. The scale was that recognized teachers should go from \$1250 to \$2500, and that secondary teachers should rise from \$1500 to \$3000, and that there should be proportionate payments for positions of responsibility. But it was felt that the simpler form of the resolution was the better one. Mr. A. Sivewright, Edinburgh, in seconding, said they had a definite scheme of salaries that applied to the profession, and one of the outstanding characteristics of that scheme was that there was to be no differentiation, that there was to be one rate of payment.

Mr. T. Macpherson, Dundee, moved as an addendum that the resolution should not preclude their representatives from first carrying out the resolution adopted at the last general meeting. Their first business, he said, was to try to get all authorities to honor the foot-note in the national minimum scale before they started on a much larger scheme. If they went forward with the large demand their representatives would probably be back to them for another special meeting before the end of October. Mr. D. MacGillivray, Glasgow, seconded Mr. Macpherson's addendum. The seconder of the motion had stated that they were to go forward demanding one scale for all. He should like to ask what existing scale of salaries in operation in Scotland had got one scale for all. There was none, so far as he knew. He did not care what scale they asked for to-day provided they secured for those people who had got nothing beyond the benefits of the minimum scale some advance. On a division, Mr. Macpherson's addendum was carried by a large majority.

Mr. Hugh B. Guthrie, Kilbarchan, then moved as an amendment — "That this meeting instructs its representatives on the Joint Council to place before that body as the basis of a new minimum national scale the following figures:— Recognised teachers, \$1250 by \$100 to \$2500; Chapter V. (secondary teachers,

\$1500 by \$100 to \$3000: to accept no offer of a modified scale until it had been placed before the delegates at a special general meeting". Mr. R. Irvine, Glasgow, seconded.

After discussion Mr. Guthrie's amendment was carried by a large majority, and became the finding of the meeting.

James Gibson.

LABOR BREVITIES

Coal operators of Alberta have been granted an injunction restraining the operators of the One Big Union in the mines of the Drumheller field.

* * *

Six hundred workers employed by the King and Beaver Asbestos Companies at Thetford Mines went on strike on Monday, owing to refusal of their demand for a 12 per cent increase of wages.

* * *

Reports of the Employment Bureau of the Department of Labor for the week ending August 28 show that 8,234 firms employed 753,949 persons a decrease of 172 compared with the previous week. Positions were found for 8,523 applicants, a decrease of 1,072 from the previous report, and the registration of applications, 9,579, also shows a decline of 1,425. The number of vacancies reported by employers was 15,126 of which 14,000 were for men and 1,126 for women, an increase of 1,812.

* * *

Labor conditions throughout Canada are easier than they have been since the beginning of the war, Senator Robertson, Minister of Labor, declared at Regina this week. "Wages," said the Minister, "have, I think, about reached their peak, and I do not look for any further advances. At the same time I do not look for any drop in wages, until there has been a very considerable drop in the cost of living. The cost of living went away up considerably in advance of the increase in wages, and it will take some for the workers to get even. Generally speaking there is no unrest in the country. We have one or two strikes to contend with occasionally, but these are generally fixed up on a basis satisfactory to all parties. At the present time we have a surplus of 50,000 laborers, so I would not advise anyone to quit his job unless he is sure of another."

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British Labor Hesitates

(G. D. H. Cole in The New Republic)

THE labor situation in Great Britain is difficult to estimate—perhaps most difficult of all for those who are nearest to it, and see most of its day-to-day developments. For months past, we have hardly been at any moment without the threat of a serious industrial crisis—and yet the crisis has never come. The storm clouds have gathered again and again—and yet somehow we have never quite expected them to burst. About all the apparent crises there has been a certain air of unreality, a knowledge that the active will to push matters to a decisive issue not been present. Our crises have been the fourth acts of plays with happy endings, except that our experience does not stop with the end of the play, but shows us all the troubles that the fifth act cleared away returning in full force. In plain terms, our crises have not been real because neither has labor worked itself up to the pitch of forcing a decisive struggle, nor have the government and the

employers put their feet down firmly, and refused all concessions. Both sides have compromised, but they have done so only by coming to an agreement on minor points, and leaving the really essential questions unsettled. Consequently, their compromises have not been lasting, and the crises which are periodically settled recur with undiminished frequency.

The explanation of this compromising tendency is not simply, as leader writers maintain, "the rock-bottom common-sense" of the British employer and workingman, but the fact that both parties are anxiously watching the horizon and looking out for good positions in expectation of the storm. The employers have their eye on trade prospects. They have not resisted wage increases commensurate with the rise in the cost of living so far, while the trade boom has held; but already the signs of a break are evident, and a good deal of unemployment is expected. Already, the

employers, probably in understanding with the government, are credited with the intention of taking up a united attitude of opposition to further wage advances. It is, in any case, certain that a marked change has come over many of the big groups of employers in their attitude to labor, and that, in at least half a dozen important industries, a deadlock on the wages question has already been reached, so that the unions will have either to withdraw their applications for further advances, or fight on what is beginning to be a falling market.

By far the most important of these deadlocks is, of course, that which has been reached in the coal industry between the government and the Miners' Federation. The miners asked that the enormous surplus profits which are now being made, and largely absorbed by the government through special taxation, in the mining industry should be applied, partly to an increase in wages and partly to a reduction in prices to the domestic consumer. The government, almost certainly acting in close concert with the "big business" representatives who dominate its policy, replied to both demands with a blank refusal. There is, however, no doubt about the miners' determination, in one form or another, to persist with their claim, and therefore very little doubt of the imminence of a really serious mining dispute. If this is allowed to come, and is not staved off by an eleventh hour compromise, it will indicate clearly that the psychological moment has, in the opinion of the capitalist interests, at last arrived, and that it is regarded as high time to do battle on a national scale with the forces of labor.

It will clearly make a great deal of difference whether, in this struggle, the labor movement fights in sections or as a united body, and also, on what ideals and with what programme it fights. The Trades Union Congress is at present making an eleventh hour attempt to turn itself into an effective fighting force by means of the "Labor General Staff" scheme recently prepared by a special Trades Union Coordination Committee, of which I was a member; but this scheme cannot possibly be put into operation without some delay, if the British trade union traditions of slow movement are observed; there is therefore a very serious risk that the trade union movement this autumn will fight, as it has so often fought before, as a series of uncoordinated battalions, instead of as a united force. It is true that unrest in many different industries shows signs of coming to a head but, officially at any rate, there is little chance that the various disputes will mature simultaneously or that the various bodies will be in a position to lend one another effective aid.

There are, however, two factors which may upset this calculation.



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The first is the possibility that rank and file unrest may, in the autumn, mature to such an extent as to hasten action in many different industries, and that the outbreak of one big dispute may then be the signal for others. This, however, is very doubtful, unless the state of feeling becomes a good deal more inflamed than it yet is. The second, and far more likely, possibility is the outbreak of serious industrial troubles having a political origin. The Special Trades Union Congress held in July decided, by a large majority, in favor of the principle of "direct action" on the Irish question; and while the decision was, at the moment, somewhat academic and not intended to lead to immediate action, it is quite possible that events in Ireland will before long turn it into a practical reality, particularly in view of the new measures of coercion which the British government is hurriedly putting into force. A really serious industrial

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dispute in Ireland, such as might easily arise at any moment from either or both of two causes, could no less easily produce a parallel situation in this country, while a serious entry of the Allies into the Polish-Russian war, especially if it coincided with trouble in Ireland, would almost certainly produce this result. In Ireland the railwaymen, with the backing of the Irish Trades Union Congress, are persisting in their policy of individual refusal to transport troops, armed police, or munitions; and, though they are doing their best to avoid a strike, this policy, long enough continued, seems almost certain to have that result. At the same time, the boycott of Catholic workers by Sir Edward Carson's Belfast following is another factor that may lead to reprisals in England as well as in Ireland, and a boycott of Belfast is being seriously discussed in British labor circles.

There is, then, at least a considerable possibility that, as soon as the slack period of summer draws to a close, industrial and political conditions will alike have reached a point at which a serious conflict will become inevitable; nor is it easy to see where such a conflict can stop, if it once begins. All the same, while all the material factors seem to point in this direction, I hesitate to accept the full implications which seem logically to be involved in them. I hesitate because I cannot feel that the temper of the mass of the British workers is yet by any means as inflamed as the situation would seem to suggest. The great mass, indeed, has hardly yet realized what the situation is, and it is at least to some extent doubtful what their reaction will be when a further development in the situation itself compels them to face its implications. There is, indeed, unrest in plenty; but there is not a clear appreciation of the gravity of the issues involved, or of the magnitude of the struggle that seems to be approaching. I say this, although, in the socialist movement itself, the ferment is already proceeding apace; for the socialists, who provide to a great extent the driving force of British labor, are themselves very sharply divided. The elements of the left, to which some of the guild socialists have rallied, have just formed the British Communist party, whose chance of any considerable success seems mainly to depend on a rapid development of the industrial and political crisis. The Independent Labor party, which still includes the main body of British socialists, is itself sharply divided, and is just engaged in an attempt to redraft its policy and programme to fit the new situation. This means that it is, for the moment, to some extent in a state of suspended animation. The National Guilds League, divided into three groups, left, centre and right, is in a somewhat similar condition. The Labor party,

BRITISH LABOR SHOWS INCREASE OF 1,221,806

A feature of the British Trade Union Congress last month, was the remarkable growth of the Labor movement indicated by the number of members of unions affiliated. During the past eight years this membership has increased by no fewer than 4,723,530, or three-quarters of the current figure. Last year 851 delegates attended, representing 5,283,676 members — figures which provoked wide comment. They are, however, dwarfed by the new record set up by the attendance at Portsmouth of 950 delegates, representing a total membership of 6,505,482, or an increase over last year's figures of 1,221,806.

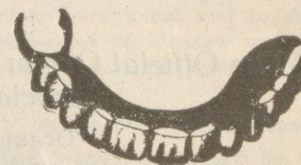
powerful as a political instrument, hardly counts as a factor in the forming of socialist or trade union opinion. Thus, no body in the socialist ranks is at present giving a clear constructive lead, and certainly no one is ready to assume, with any positive or constructive programme, control of any decisive crisis that may develop. It is an unsatisfactory position, for it points to the coming of a great working-class upheaval producing quite insignificant results. Parturiunt montes; nascetur ridiculus mus.

This may be an unduly pessimistic view, for it is possible that the leaders and the policy will develop in the course of the crisis itself. The main obstacle to their development in advance of the situation is the artificial canalization—as it seems to me—of British labor opinion, under the force of European events, into the two sharply opposed streams of "Bolshevik" and "Parliamentarist" opinion. British Bolshevism is undeniably weak, but I believe that British "constitutional parliamentarism" is in reality hardly less so. There is a great mass of opinion between the two extremes of right and left, between pure constitutionalism and pure revolutionism, and the chance of building an effective movement with a constructive and practicable policy seems to me to depend on the success of this body of opinion in finding, as it has not yet found, some centre around which to rally. The present indications are that, although this may happen in the long run, as I believe it will if the situation allows, it will take some time. It is, therefore, very possible that the situation will develop in advance of it, and the question then will be whether, under the stress of a serious crisis, it will be able to rally quickly and to secure the adoption of its policy. The alternative will probably be no policy at all,

save one of drift, and a mere facing of each question as it arises—not, under the existing conditions, at all a hopeful way of dealing with the situation. Given time, the present left and centre of the Independent Labor party and the main body of the guild socialists would form the natural rallying point for such a body of opinion; but, if these elements fail to develop it, a good many of those who would naturally rally to it will be likely to pass over to the communists.

I am stressing this question of the state of mind of the various sections of British socialism because, although the socialist bodies are very small, they do count for a great deal in the trade union and labor movement. If the opinion of which I have been speaking could succeed in making itself articulate, it could, I believe, easily repeat on a larger scale what the guild socialists have already done so successfully in a narrower sphere. If it could present a constructive political and industrial programme, suited to British conditions, and adopting, as integral elements in it, the guild socialist demand for communal ownership and democratic management of industry and a reasonable plan of political reorganization that would cut right away from the traditional parliamentary methods, it would, I believe, find working for it an enormous mass of opinion which will never be attract-

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ed by such cries as "the Soviet system" and "the dictatorship of the proletariat." These may have a clear meaning on the continent but they are very difficult to apply clearly to British conditions, and they have, in fact, in British mouths hardly any other meaning than that of "catastrophic revolution." For any direct contemplation of such a step I am quite convinced that the main body of British labor is not at all prepared, although, if a revolutionary situation actually developed, I dare say British workers would actually conduct a revolution as readily as others, and certainly many who would not term themselves advocates of revolution would participate. But to regard revolution as a possibility which may have to be met is one thing; to work deliberately for it is quite another, and a thing for which I see no sign that British labor is eager or prepared. The present situation has all the material possibilities of revolution, if the will were present. But it is not, and the great need is therefore for the development of a policy which, while it is ready to face that possibility, has also a real programme of industrial and political action on evolutionary lines. At present, there is no such programme, although many of the ingredients for it are ready to hand. Its making is the most important task before the awakened elements in British socialism and trade unionism today.

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Church and Social Service

AMONG the recommendations made in the report of the committee appointed to consider the opportunity and duty of the Church in regard to industrial and social problems, which was presented to the Lambeth Conference of Bishops, is an important one in relation to social work. "It is greatly to be desired," says the report, "that a Social Service Committee should be established in each diocese, with branches, if possible in every congregation, and other parts of the Church might well follow the example of Canada and the United States of America by forming a council which should act for the whole Church and watch for special social needs and opportunities. . . . There is need for wider association with other Christians in social witness and service. . . . We are thinking not only or chiefly of central committees, of conspicuous religious leaders in great capital cities, but local councils gathering in each centre of population, the representatives of all the Christian congregations of the locality." . . . In many cases the inter-denominational guild has formed close alliance with labor and other movements which aim at a better social order."

This recommendation of the Lambeth Conference has already been carried out to some extent in Canada. A decade ago most of the four leading Protestant churches had their social service and moral reform departments. It was found that these were working on parallel lines, but independently: then there was formed the Social Service Council of Canada, which has representatives, both cleric and lay, of all these churches, which now co-ordinates the general social work as expressed by Protestant Christianity, although the council does not preclude the individual churches still maintaining their own departments for more sectarian or parochial work of this character.

Following the constitution of Canada, the Social Service Council has its Dominion council, its provincial and its city or village councils. In Montreal the Council of Social Agen-

cies which was formed decided to retain its independence, and it is not linked up with the provincial and the Dominion council. It would seem, that in the interests of general Dominion-wide effort, it will have to adopt some sort of co-operative effort. It is easy enough for the local council to settle its own problems as to city hospitals, charities and so forth, but when it comes to legislation on such matters as child welfare, criminal code amendment, public health, and so forth, there must be the wide organizations, provincial and federal, to influence public opinion and that essential of today — the vote.

The Church has so much apparatus and equipment, fabric and human, that it is well adapted to carry out a large part of social work.

Caedmon.

An Eye On Prisons

AMONG the various resolutions adopted by the Labor convention recently held at Windsor, Ont. was one in favor of asking for a commission of investigation into federal penitentiaries, and at the same time it was resolved that local units should be urged to make the same request in regard to provincial jails. This action on the part of labor is of interest inasmuch as it goes to support a movement which is being manifested in various directions. Only a fortnight before the Dominion Penological Committee of the Social Service Council of Canada had been considering a report upon Kingston penitentiary made by one of its members, and in a number of recommendations made, it asked for the principle of visiting committees to be accepted. Further, that committee decided to ask the Dominion Council to request provincial councils to take similar action with regard to provincial jails and, wherever possible, to have conditions investigated therein. Thus it will be seen that there is a sort of converging movement in the interest now being displayed in our penal system, and members of the Fifth Sunday Association will not, of course, overlook the fact that penal and prison reform is included in the objects of the Association. Probably members will also agree with the suggestion that it is undemocratic to have any public institutions for which the taxpayers pay, managed on a bureaucratic basis without any public control or public inspection. Does not the system of closed doors lend itself to scandals and mismanagement, to abuses and corruptive influences? If, as history shows, even religious institutions can be perverted — though in this country there has been very little of that sort of thing in late years — is it not much more likely that institutions which harbor the failures of humanity should be much more amenable to these defects?

Some of the information which might well be gained from such commissions would be the following:—the conditions under which prisoners are kept, the number of hours in cells at a stretch, the amount of physical exercise, whether they are taught useful industries, whether, if illiterate, they are taught to read, write and calculate, whether there is any system of payment, so that they can maintain their families, what sort of food is served, under what conditions they are discharged, whether, for instance, a man going into jail in summer without an overcoat is given one when he emerges in wintry weather. Also the public would like to know the system on which wardens and guardians are appointed, whether it is for faithful political service or for the ability to handle men properly. Then, too, the public might be interested in learning what is the annual expenditure on their provincial or federal penal system and hear something on alternative possibilities as to dealing with those who break the laws. Such enquiries, to be really effective, should also include the police court system, for there are many inmates of jails who would not be there at all if the police courts were run on more modern and humane lines.

Caedmon.

Unrest of Labor and One of Its Causes

Masses of Great Britain Realize That They Were DePrived of Adequate Share of Parliamentary Representation in 1918 Says Robert Williams.

(An article written specially for The Christian Science Monitor by Robert Williams, whose views as a Labor leader of the advanced wing are here submitted.)

LONDON, England. — A fruitful but subtle form of discontent among the masses in Great Britain is that arising from the fact of their having been deprived of an adequate share of representation in the House of Commons at the general election of December, 1918.

Under any system of proportional representation, Labor, at its then organized voting strength, would have been entitled to 120 members of Parliament, instead of the 60 as at present, and Labor, especially that section which is most facile and insistent in inculcating the spirit of discontent, feels it has been denied any representation at all. Those who were returned have scraped into the present House because their war policy was such as to commend itself to the reactionary press and to the more moderate sections of the community. All the members of the district Left were bitterly assailed and were accused of being Bolsheviks and supporters of Bolshevism.

Charge of Bolshevism

An interesting commentary upon the charge of Bolshevism and incitement to revolution may be drawn from the fact that during the railway crisis in October of last year, when we were on the brink of some insurrectionary developments, the imperialist press was clamoring for a fight to a finish, which would have thrust us over the edge of the class-war precipice. The situation was, however, saved by a Trade Union Negotiating Committee, of which the writer acted as convenor and secretary, and which included ten Labor candidates, among them Arthur Henderson—now M.P.—who had failed to secure election to Parliament, all of these ten having been attacked during the general election as Bolshevik agents by a powerful and unscrupulous press.

The workers of Great Britain are constitutional, first, last and all the time. At labor conferences, proceedings are again and again interrupted by points of order, imaginary or real, and questions regarding procedure.

The present House of Commons, elected to compel the Germans to pay the entire cost of the war and to deliver the former Kaiser's head as a trophy of the war, is the most unrepresentative assembly that has

ever plagued this country with its meddlesome attentiveness to the things which don't matter and its callous indifference to the very things that do.

Direct Industrial Action

It is felt by the workers that they would be justified in resorting to direct industrial action and extra-parliamentary methods, in order simply to restore constitutional government and practice.

The most challenging idea that arouses the greatest amount of approval from working-class audiences, is that we should cease any form of military or economic intervention in Russian affairs. The present government was given a mandate to make peace, because the nation was thoroughly tired of war and threats of war. Yet for two years following upon the signing of the armistice we have had military blunder upon blunder and culminating in a series of disasters. The workers know that we have spent more money in trying to suppress the Russian Republic than we devoted to the Boer War. There is a sort of instinctive sense of fair play in the minds of the British working people, and all their sporting traditions lead them to protest against the mean, cowardly and unwarranted attacks upon a country against whom we lack the decency and courage "constitutionally" to declare war. The writer has been to Russia and time and again was asked by members of the Red Army why the British working classes allowed their government to continue its adventitious support of the various counter-revolutionary agencies. He was bound to reply that the workers had protested vehemently against every form of intervention in the affairs of the Russian Soviet Government, and assured the Russian workers and members of the Red Army and Navy that open revolution would follow any clear and unmistakable declaration of war against Russia on the part of any of her adversaries.

Labor and War

This has been more than borne out by the appointment of the Council of Action, charged by the entire trade union movement to declare in favor of a withdrawal of labor, reaching the proportions even of a general strike, in order to prevent the outbreak of another European war, perhaps more disastrous than the last.

The immediate dissolution of the present parliament and a general election might do something to restore the prestige of constitutional government; and succeeding developments may make it absolutely essential that Labor and its general aims and aspirations can only be effectually protected by the establishment of a permanent industrially appointed body, which will sit concurrently with the House of Commons, exercising a check upon the unending

audacity of the geographically elected assembly.

There is no doubt in the writer's mind that events in eastern and creation of more representative assemblies; and disciplined and coordinated government can only be assured by the working class being represented in an industrial as well as a residential capacity.

Direct action and the possibility thereof can be thoroughly justified will be as effective in this country as it was in Germany during the attempts to secure a military dictatorship by the Kapp-Lüttwitz combine.

Withhold Labor Supplies

Speaking at the recent conference, which gave the Council of Action its mandate, a delegate declared insistently that the organized workpeople of Great Britain would withhold supplies and services and take part in a general strike, though it entailed the most extreme form of unconstitutional action, in preference to going to war.

The one certain event that would lead to the establishment of Soviets and a Soviet Government in this country would be a prolonged effort to crush the Russian Soviet Government. Instinct more than reason impels the organized masses of Great Britain to oppose any military adventure influenced from the War Office by Mr. Winston Churchill. The whole opposition to Russia's epoch-making example comes from the traditional opponents of Labor

and democratic progress in western Europe. The action of the workers, politically and industrially, in Italy has compelled the Italian Government frankly to recognize the Soviet Government and to send an ambassador to Moscow and to ask for a Russian ambassador to proceed to Rome.

Power of Working Class

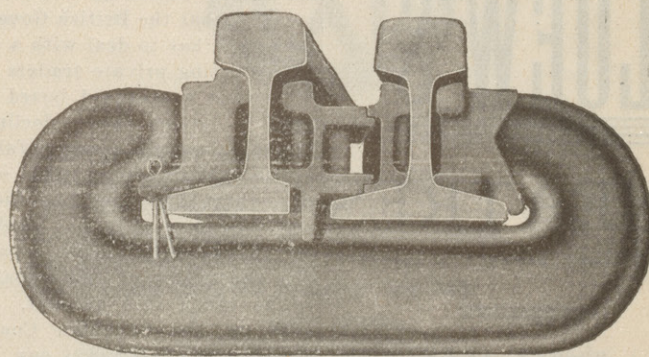
The power which may be exercised by the British working class is infinitely greater than that exercised by the Italian workers, but in consequence of the undisguised opposition to democracy and democratic procedure, the one course open to our workpeople was that we should exert our influence and power in the one manner open to us, namely, a withdrawal of Labor.

Whereas the energies of every man and woman should be devoted to social and economic reconstruction, our capacity for reorganization is hampered and embarrassed by those who not only drove the country into war, but who prevent it from establishing a durable peace.

It is for the working class, quickened by humane feelings, inspired by rational motives, and with a deep, significant, to establish a real league of peace and freedom among the toiling masses of Europe, and, one hopes and trust, America.

But it will not be done until the political atmosphere is cleared by a general strike or a general election, or both!

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Our OTTAWA LETTER

(From Our Own Correspondent)

WITHIN the last two weeks the price of wheat in tranfer has roughly fallen about sixty cents and there is no guarantee that the descent will not continue. As the live-stock market has also sagged badly, the amounts which the farmers are now likely to receive for their year's operations are destined to fall in the aggregate many millions short of their expectations as cherished a few weeks ago. It happened that in the west at least the cost of producing grain has been unusually high this year, harvest labor has been demanding \$8 per day and threshing costs at least 20 cents per bushel nowadays. It should be remembered that while No 1 northern may be at what looks the decently high price of \$2.18 at the time of writing in Winnipeg, the farmer in northern Alberta is only being offered \$1.71 for his best grade.

It was not, therefore, surprising to find a number of intelligent Alberta farmers telling the Tariff Commission that as the result of the decline in prices it would be exceedingly difficult for a great number of farmers to realise their costs of production out of the chop without saying anything about profits.

Men who expected to have funds to pay off debts contracted as the result of previous crop failures will have nothing for that purpose and income tax returns from the rural districts are likely to be lower than ever. Merchants who have laid in large stocks in the confident expectation would have lots of money to spend realise now that their volume of business must be measurably less.

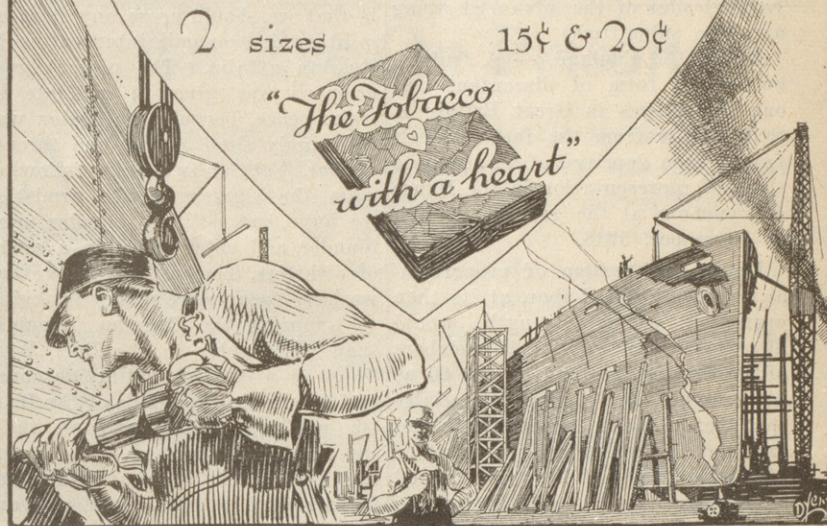
They will have to carry over stocks which they hoped to dispose of and as a result will be able to place much smaller orders for their spring trade with the wholesale houses. The latter in turn will curtail their orders to the manufacturers and there will be less employment available in factories during the coming winter. It was prophesied a month ago that the 1920 crop would be the most profitable in the history of Canada but the recent toboggan of grain prices has sent this vision glimmering through the morning air and when the high cost of its production is balanced up the margin will not be extensive.

For the slump worldwide conditions are partially responsible, but the Government must bear a large share of blame. The Canadian Council of Agriculture asked them to retain the wheat board for another year as long as the importing nations of Europe retained control but they knew better and what has happened is that the British Government finding it has to deal with a number of competing private traders instead of with a centralised board as last year is sitting back, declining to buy and watching prices fall. Britain eventually must take some of our wheat but meantime the farmers need money to pay their bills, the banks want loans repaid and the necessities of individuals have to be taken into account.

If, as the Canadian Council of Agriculture desired, our export trade has been left under the control of the wheat board and the very capable hands of Mr. James Stewart, its Chairman, the situation could have been readily handled. The Government would have provided the finances as last year and the Board being freed from the necessity of immediate disposal could have dealt with Britain and other countries at arm's length and stabilised prices. The Government passed enabling legislation last session which makes possible the resumption of control at any time but the mischief is now done and if the remedy was applied at this date it would be very expensive and only partial in its results.

However, the farmers of Saskatchewan have interviewed Mr. J. A. Calder and demanded the immediate restoration of control. The Alberta

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farmers sent a similar delegation to beard Sir H. Drayton at Calgary. The governmental reply is that with the American market wide open it is impossible to enact control in Canada. Mr. Calder is usual was skilfully non-committal and took refuge in the excuse that when wheat control was first established Mr. Maharg, M.P. had opposed it, quite omitting the fact that the Canadian Council of Agriculture had urgently recommended its perpetuation for

1920 in view of its satisfactory results in 1919. While, after his wont, not prepared to express a definite opinion Mr. Calder inclined to the belief that control in Canada would do more harm than good.

The said Mr. Calder is assuredly a man of mystery. He was selected a member of the Committee of three Cabinet Ministers which constitutes the Tariff Commission. It was announced that owing to detention on business of state in England he would be unable to attend the earlier sittings but would join his colleagues at Calgary. They arrived in Calgary to find no Mr. Calder. It was then made known that he had left Ottawa for the west and then he disappeared from the public ken somewhere between Regina and Ottawa. It is now announced that he will not adorn with his presence any of the western hearings of the Tariff Commission but instead will accompany Mr. Meighen on the western pilgrimage on which he has now set forth. It is a piece of outrageous effrontery for Mr. Calder to take his duties so lightly and decline to take his place on a Commission which the Government have pronounced to be fraught with possibilities of the highest importance.

It may be that Mr. Calder has a certain diffidence in sitting in Sas-

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katchewan on a Tariff Commission which has started with the promise that adequate protection must be maintained as for years he was wont to make the prairie welkin ring with denunciations of protectionism and all its works. But if he had this feeling he should have admitted it and declined to sit on the Commission. His present course simply makes a farce of the Commission and proves that the Government does not regard it seriously. Surely our fiscal policy is important enough for Mr. Calder to give some of his time to investigate the popular attitude to it and examine the conditions which it creates. Mr. Calder's course is exceedingly unfair to Sir Henry Drayton who has been shouldering the whole burden of the work of Commission and has contrived to conduct the hearings with admirable tact and fairness.

But Mr. Calder never acts without some good reason and it might be interesting to speculate on the causes which led up to his latest performance. It is notorious that he opposed the selection of Mr. Meighen to the last and that his affection for the Premier is decidedly tepid and weak.

After Mr. Meighen was elected, Mr. Calder is said to have begun to look around for what he would probably call adjustments of his present plight. It is understood that he approached some Quebec Liberals with proposals for a new brand of union which would bring the two wings of Liberalism together and when the Tories were thereby faced with a loss of power would make possible the formation of a coalition administration in which Liberals would be the dominant element.

Having made no progress with such overtures he probably looked elsewhere and a story was recently published in the Winnipeg Tribune and other papers to the effect that Mr. Calder would write a strong minority report on the tariff issue setting forth the case of the western farmers, resign from the Cabinet and find himself reestablished as a hero with powerful graingrower organizations.

This manoeuvre offered many attractive prospects for him. To the farmers such a minority report would be a service of the most valuable order and would have to get some reward. It would then be impossible for the farmers to nominate a candidate against Mr. Calder, at least it would be an act of very bad taste. It would also be most useful to the provincial Government of Saskatchewan if Mr. Calder turned such a trick as it is their constant endeavor to prove that Liberals are the truest friends that the farmer has.

Mr. Calder has never lost touch with the Martin Government which he brought into existence and once adorned and it is often responsive to his influence. For a long time Premier Martin and some of his colleagues have been very lukewarm

towards their titular chieftain Mr. King and shewn a disposition to avoid participation in all federal controversies. But in August there was a change of tone. Premier Martin gave out an interview in Toronto in which he expressed undisguised hostility to the Meighen Government and his Attorney-General, Mr. Turgeon, addressed a public meeting in Regina in a similar strain.

It was surmised by some that Mr. Calder might have inspired these outbursts for which there was no particular reason and that their purpose was to pave the way for the furnishing of further proof that Liberal politicians could be most useful agents in fighting the protectionist hosts. Undeniably the stage was beautifully set for Mr. Calder to make such a minority report and there was every chance that the events resulting therefrom would result in the perpetuation of Mr. Calder in office.

It may be said for him that he would probably in heart prefer to serve in the camp of the plain folk than with the interests. But something apparently happened to change all such plans if they existed. The suggested theory is that on his way west Mr. Calder had interviews with divers agrarian chieftains to ascertain if some work of noble note could restore him to his former place in their affections and that these gentlemen having long acquaintance with Mr. Calder and his little ways returned an emphatic reply to all. Most matters connected with Mr. Calder can at the best be surmise, but such may be the history of events which have led Mr. Calder to sanction the announcement that he will accompany the Premier on his western trip. From such a commitment there can be no retreat.

J. A. Stevenson.



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Building Guilds In Britain Prosper

Cooperators Assist Guildsmen in Purchasing Their Necessary Building Materials — Houses Will Not Be Built for Profit.

MANCHESTER, England.— The Building Guild, which was formed by the building operatives of Manchester, has just issued from its headquarters in Manchester a voluminous report, in which are detailed the ideals, objects and progress of the guild.

Briefly, the history of the guild is this: Formed on January 29 of this year, it grew with such amazing and unexpected rapidity that in March it was placed on a national basis. Rules were drawn up giving democratic control, and the guild was divided into main committees on which were working operatives. By this arrangement, says the report, "more than one end is served. The danger of purely bureaucratic administration, if not eliminated, is reduced to a minimum: the practical experience of the workers on the site is turned to fruitful use; an ever-widening circle of building guildsmen are brought into contact with the practical difficulties and problems confronting the administrator. In this way democracy becomes a living reality and not a mere figure of speech."

The original intention of the guild, proceeds the report, was to mobilize labor and control the work, leaving to the local authority the task of purchasing the material and delivering it upon the site. It speedily became evident, however, that the great majority of local authorities, whom the guild had met on deputations, had neither the buying organization nor the necessary experience to secure the materials promptly and at bottom prices. Obviously it would have been extremely unwise to have undertaken contracts unless price and delivery were both satisfactory. The building might, and probably would, have been completed at a higher figure than under private enterprise. The guild was accordingly thrown back upon the necessity of itself buying the building materials.

Benefit From Combination

About this time, however, the directors were brought into touch with the building department of the Cooperative Wholesale Society, whose manager was quick to see the mutual benefits that would accrue from a combination of the cooperative credit with the labor monopoly of the Guild. The directorate of the Cooperative Wholesale Society was next approached and the idea of joint action approved. The Cooper-

ative Wholesale Bank also lent its aid in a broad and generous manner and its support in the early formative days of the guild has been invaluable. The arrangement thus reached marked an important and vital stage in the history of the guild. Whatever theoretical differences there may be between guild and cooperative ideals, it is certain that the cooperative leaders saw in the guild movement a practical emanation of working-class spirit comparable only to their own activities from the days of the Rochdale Pioneers. In this alliance, among other possibilities one may discover the way to break the rings and combines that now so remorselessly hold to ransom the whole building industry.

As the Ministry of Health is the ultimate building authority, all contracts with local authorities depending upon its sanction, the guild at once entered into negotiations with responsible officials at Whitehall and locally. This was in January, but it was not until July that any definite understanding was reached. Arrangements for the building of houses satisfactory to the guild and the Ministry were made, and on August 6, a model contract was finally agreed upon by the Ministry of Health, the Building Guild, the Cooperative Wholesale Society, and the Cooperative Insurance Society. Provision is made therein for the Wholesale Cooperative Society to be associated with the guild for the purchase of materials and to insure local authorities against loss on any building contract that may be entered into.

Duty to the Community

The guild, concludes the report, declares that it has a definite duty to the community and to its fellow-workers in other industries. This is best accomplished, not by abrogating the rights of self-government with what that properly involves, but by returning to the community all and any surplus over the cost of production. It is for this reason that it has steadily refused to build houses at a profit. In every case it has tendered on the basis of cost. Not commercial cost, which takes no account of wet time or unemployment, which is calculated merely upon the commodity value of labor at so much per hour plus the cost of raw materials, but upon the social cost of labor which includes these factors and vicissitudes. Beyond that labor has no claim; the guild makes no claim. Even the plant is vested in trustees, who must see that it is used for public and not for selfish purposes.

Finally, the guild declares that true craftsmanship must be revived. There is no reason why building guildmen should not equal or surpass the triumphs of the medieval period. But to attain this the National Building Guild must control, not only its mature, but its immature labor. All technical instruction and training must come

under the guilds's jurisdiction. That is one reason, among many, why dilution at all cost must be rejected. The guild is the only possible answer to dilution; it is also the only alternative to the existing capitalistic system. But it will fail unless with it also revives the spirit of crafts-

manship, which can only come in self-government and wage abolition, good fellowship and mutual aid.

—o—

Although wholesale lumber prices in Montreal are down an average of ten per cent there has been no change in retail prices yet.



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Trade Union of Dramatists Set Paris by the Ears

(From Our Own Correspondent)

Paris, September 11. — The Syndicate of Dramatic Authors of Paris, that recently formed union of writers for the stage, has taken another step that has upset the pre-conceived ideas of its opponents. The Syndicate ought to have meant the death blow to the French drama if all that non-members predicted had come to pass. A trade union of dramatists was a thing unheard of and undreamed of according to the opinion of the old timers; and if all the most successful of the younger dramatists were flocking to join the said union, it was only because the Syndicate had bolstered itself up well by singing some very advantageous contracts with theatre managers. But the glory of the drama had departed forever. That the Molières and the Rostands of another day should be succeeded by trade unionists was more than a section of the public could stomach. The news has caused people to write cranky letters to the newspapers in which it is suggested that the stage must now necessarily fall to the level of being a means of socialist propaganda, and that the banal and the dull will triumph for evermore.

Possibly some of the writers fail to notice that the play which they have been so thoroughly enjoying this week at the Theatre Français, chief among Parisian theatres, was written by one of the most active officers of the union of dramatists.

But the Syndicate has taken another step forth into the limelight this week. Whether it is a wise step or not, whether it will serve the purpose that it is intended to serve, remains to be seen, but the taking of it has at least convinced a portion of the public that the aims and ambitions of the Syndicate of Dramatic Authors are measured in something more than dollars and cents.

A play entitled "L'Inconnu" is running at the Theatre Antoine at present. The day following its first presentation last week, every newspaper in town had a review of it, after the fashion of newspapers the world over, and every single critic in Paris described "L'Inconnu" as mediocre drama. Not for years had any theatrical presentation in Paris received such derogatory press notices. Critics might say what they pleased, however, but when the Syndicate of Dramatic Authors dared to publish a collective criticism of "L'Inconnu" a storm was roused. The syndicate stated that it held that the duty lay upon it of maintaining the standards of dramatic art, and that it could not therefore permit "L'Inconnu" to pass uncensured. The play was one of doubtful taste, of poor psychology and of worthless literary merit,

declared the Syndicate, and by reason of its feebleness and banality it signified a great step backwards for the Theatre Antoine. The theatre in question, it should be explained, is one of the older theatres of Paris and has a wealth of dramatic tradition attached to it.

The Syndicate's indictment of the new play naturally caused a furore in dramatic circles, a furore which grew still greater when a leading dramatic journal published an interview on the subject with H. R. Lenormand, one of the officers of the Syndicate. Mr. Lenormand, who is widely known as a playwright, explained that the taking of any measures to curb the freedom of the stage was naturally repugnant to an association of dramatists, but that in this case there had been no alternative. "We have been forced to throw against this rising sea of commercialism a sort of collective anathema," he said, "for the time has gone by when the individual censure of the dramatic critic can exercise any degree of influence." Thereupon he states that the Syndicate could have countenanced "L'Inconnu" had the play made its appearance at one of the lesser theatres, but that it should monopolize for thirty days one of the five or six great theatres to which the public have been accustomed to come in expectation of mental stimulant, is more than the Syndicate can stand uncomplainingly. With plays of Bernard Shaw, Strindberg, Knut Hamsden and Synge still unplayed, says Mr. Lenormand, there is every reason for condemning the futile play that is holding the boards at the Antoine.

But the greater part of the general discussion rages round Mr. Lenormand's concluding statement, which was that unless the theatre in question mended its ways, the Syndicate would be forced to take action. He said no more than that, but everyone is reminding everyone else that the Syndicate is only part of the larger federation in which the actors and the theatrical employees have their place; and there is no doubt that in the event of a shutdown the Theatre Antoine would suffer seriously at the hands of the critical playwrights.

It may be said that the dramatists who form the Syndicate are over-officious. It may be said that they take themselves and their responsibilities too seriously. It has been suggested that they have given advertisement to "L'Inconnu" by their action. Perhaps they have, but at least they have not condemned it for salaciousness which is the one certain method by which derogatory criticism brings a crowd to see an unsavory spectacle. Certain it is that their action has brought criticism from some theatre managers

who admit the right of individual criticism on the part of the city's critics, but who refuse a similar right to a collective body that combines its ability to criticize with a power to express its criticism in action.

Louis Verneuil, the author of the much criticized play, has a naive answer for his critics. "Comedia" a theatrical daily, sent a reporter to see him in the second week of the performance to discover how his spirit were affected by the derogatory remarks, individual and collective, that had been hurled at his

head. Mr. Verneuil was jubilant. The theatre had been full the night before, he said; 7,300 francs had been taken in and there were six curtain calls after the third act. Could he be expected to mind the pinpricks of his jealous rivals when his royalties were gaily mounting up?

Meantime Paris is wondering what will be the ultimate result of the effort of the Playwrights' Syndicate to preserve the traditions of the French stage.

Ethel Longworth.

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Morale In Railway Service

By A. S. MORGAN.

MR MORGAN, the writer of the following article began railroading as a boy on the Boston and Maine, and gave twenty years of service, rising to the post of passenger conductor. For six years he was secretary of the Canadian Pacific Railway Y. M. C. A. at Schreiber, Ont. He is at present visiting all the Lodges and Divisions on the eastern lines of the C. P. R. and discussing the topics dealt with in the article. The general committees of the various organizations have been giving him a welcome all along the line.

VICTORY is with the men and armies who have the highest morale. Germany trusted in guns, explosives, tractors, aeroplanes, food and shoes to win. The Allies also gave these important factors due consideration, but placed equally as great emphasis on morale — making use of every available agency for building it up and maintaining it at a high state throughout the war.

When distressing days came for the Allies caused by the successes of the enemy, and a consequent raising of their morale, the Allies made a definite stand at given places and turned defeat into victory. In many instances at a cost out of all proportion to the strategic importance of ground held but accomplishing their aim by raising the morale of our men and lowering that of the enemy.

Moral conduct, or character, is a force not perceptible to the senses.

It cannot be weighed upon physical scales, or divided into chemical elements. It is obscure and difficult to define. In war, it is called Morale, and in peace, it is called Character. It refers to the best there is in man, the cultivation of the higher virtues, the never dying principle, his soul, and is founded upon the religious instinct, which is natural, not something foreign to our nature, to be brought in and trained to serve, but is inherent in every man.

Those born in Christian lands have faith in one God, find comfort and strength in this faith, and rise to greater heights of character and morale, than is found in men living in Non-Christian lands. Character is developed in ratio as we make use of this religious instinct. "Fame is a vapor, popularity is an accident, and the only thing that is lasting is character."

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good homes, after proper rest with healthy minds and bodies, are required to successfully operate a great railway system. Prevention of wrecks, loss of life and injuries to person, is dependent to a great degree on a high Morale.

It is true that the rules, regulations, laws, mechanical safety appliances, technical and material efficiency have been important factors in reducing loss of life and injuries to persons on our railways. They have been given a most important place, and justly so, but the same mistake made by Germany, has been made on our railways — namely, too little importance has been placed upon the character of the personnel. If lasting and good success is to be secured by organized labor, it must assume along with other important factors, a major portion of the responsibility for good moral conduct. This responsibility belongs to organized labor and cannot be passed on to the employer or the state. They have infinitely more at stake than the Company or the public.

In the early days of railway service, long hours, improper working conditions and low wages resulted in a bad moral condition of the employees, which caused wrecks, destruction to property, personal injury and loss of life. Today organized labor is exerting a great influence in deciding working conditions, hours of labor and rate of pay. If the great loss of life is to be reduced, we must give to the moral foundations of character the place of first importance. We cannot make it secondary to technical training, mechanical perfection, hours of work, condition of labor or wages.

When the question of accidents which occur with monotonous regularity is given consideration, we are impressed that organized labor can well afford to give the moral con-

duct of its membership serious consideration. Specially, is it true of men in railway service where results of accidents and wrecks are so far reaching, causing loss of life, injuries to persons, trial and imprisonment, insanity, families left without support, loss of position, property loss, a railway's good record marred and the reputation of organized labor injured.

Casualties from accidents in U.S. last year were twice as great as those suffered from that country's troops in France, during the great war. 25,940 personal injuries were reported by Workmen's Compensation Board of Ontario for first half of this year. Railway men pay daily toll to make this great total.

"The brain and fabric of the engineer — failed at a critical time to properly function" was the finding of the Coroner, after investigating a recent wreck, in which fifteen persons were killed and a score injured. (Reason for the man's failure in this case was that he celebrated a birthday on the day previous.) The same finding would apply in many railway accidents resulting in injury to person and loss of life. It is impossible to state authoritatively the number of wrecks caused by failure of the "brain and fabric" of man as compared with those caused by mechanical failure. But the fact remains that the great majority must be charged to man failure. To concede is to confront men in railway service with a great responsibility and out of this responsibility grows a great privilege.

The railroad men are entitled to a great deal of credit for putting down the drink evil, showing a type of loyalty to their own interests that might well be applied to all questions of personal conduct. As in the drink question, employees can be united and in continued efforts do much for the protection of life by enforcing a proper observance of

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every rule and safeguard. Men doing wrong should fear the man with whom they work more than the detective.

A reputation for truthfulness is a railway man's best asset. A few thieves will bring reproach on large numbers of good and honest railway men. To guard the good name of the Brotherhoods is a member's highest duty and privilege.

Proper discipline by employer and fellow employees will work for highest and best good of the man, his home, and the service. Standards of conduct for men in the railway service should be enforced by those employees who are themselves observing them. The employees are the ones who derive greatest benefit by working with safe men. A man exhibits for another a loyalty of a high degree when he insists upon a strict observance of those customs and habits that will create and maintain a high morale. The man who is thoughtless, careless, in different — a chance-taker, or the man who is not trying to make good and whose habits would lower the morale, is more dangerous and causes more suffering among railway employees than defective engines, cars or tracks, and it is genuine loyalty to withdraw the moral support of organized labor from such a dangerous person and use it to protect the life and limb of the vastly greater number of men who are faithfully trying to discharge their duties.

The fact is emphasized more forcibly each day that differences between the Nations of the World, between employer and employees, and between man and man, can be settled on a lasting basis only by the recognition of the Fatherhood of God, and the Brotherhood of Man. In a recent article signed by the leaders of the Allied Nations we find:

"It has become clear today, both through the arbitrament of war, and through the tests of rebuilding a life of Peace, that neither education, science, diplomacy, nor commercial prosperity, when allied with a belief in material force as the ultimate power, are real foundations for the ordered development of the world's life. These things are in themselves simply the tools of the spirit which handles them. Even the hope which lies before the world of a life of peace, protected and developed by the League of Nations, is itself dependent upon something deeper, namely the Brotherhood of Man, and the Fatherhood of God."

Working men are finding that education, increase in salary, shorter hours for labor and improved working and living conditions, are not solving all their problems, as the cost of living grows higher, and the number of men killed and injured continues so great.

Newspapers and magazines are writing strong editorials emphasizing

the need of placing greater importance on the Fatherhood of God, and the Brotherhood of Man, as a means of settling the vexing problems of the day on an equitable basis.

More employers are working toward the ideal that their employees are human, and that the surest way to make a success of their business is to co-operate with their employees in a spirit of brotherhood. The day of the big stick — the Boss, is gone, and in his place has come the man, properly qualified to win the support, and to direct the energies of others of his kind.

Laboring men have organized brotherhoods, worked, voted and prayed that a more equitable and righteous conditions might prevail in the world. It has not all been in vain and today righteousness is demanded as never before, of the Church, Society, Politics, Organized Labor and the individual. Never has the man who robbed his neighbor and left him suffering by the roadside had such a poor chance to escape condemnation of the world as today. Man demands more than money. The discontent of the man with a full stomach is as great as that of the man with too little to eat. The man of leisure has the same soul hunger as the hard working man. We cannot expect to find lasting and good success without satisfying this hunger.

Atheism and superstition are gone far from the world today and whether we cultivate this religious instinct or not, we must take the other fellow into consideration, if we wish to save ourselves. Only by doing this, can the problems of employers and employees be settled satisfactorily, only in this way can we make life save ourselves, for the man with whom we work, and the world at large.

INDUSTRIAL ITEMS

The City of Windsor intends to supply all citizens with coal at lower prices than the dealers next year, avoiding repeated handling and transportation charges by building huge concrete bins on the rivers edge, each capable of holding several thousand tons, or an entire ship's cargo. At present the city is supplying a limited amount of coal, one ton at a time, to citizens at \$4 under the dealers' charges.

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It will wage warfare on plutocracy, despotism, economic privileges and upon all the evil forces which burden the people and rob them of that happiness of living which is their fundamental right.

It is a non-partisan educational and political association, and because of the manner in which it is organized can never become the instrument or plaything of a small group of any class, particularly of wealthy men. The aim is the attainment of true democracy.

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To advocate the abolition of property qualifications for the franchise or for election to public office; the adoption of the Initiative, Referendum and Recall, and of proportional representation in all forms of public government; universal suffrage for both sexes, on the basis of one person, one vote; the transfer of taxes from improvements, and all products of labor, to land values, incomes and inheritances;

To advocate prison reform, including introduction of the honor and segregation systems, and abolition of contract labor; the enactment and rigid enforcement of child labor laws; pensions for mothers with dependent children; regulation of immigration to prevent lowering of industrial, political or social standards; development of the postal savings and parcel post systems; financial and other assistance to farmers through co-operative banks and by other means; government development of co-operative producing and trading associations for the benefit of the consumer;

To advocate extension of workmen's housing schemes and the labor bureau system; provision of technical education for every willing worker, according to his capacities; more effective inspection of buildings, factories, workshops and mines; minimum wages; a rest period of not less than a day and a half per week for every worker; government insurance of workers against sickness, injury and death; maternity benefits and old-age pensions; better Workmen's Compensation Acts; representation of the workers on all public boards and on boards for the supervision of private enterprises; union labor conditions in all government work; adequate pensions and opportunities for soldiers and their dependents;

To advocate freedom of speech and of the press, and a law compelling all newspapers and periodicals to publish in all issues a complete list of shareholders and bondholders.

"The Fifth Sunday Meeting Association of Canada" is financed entirely by its members who contribute \$2 a year in membership fees. If a local has been established in your city \$1 remains in the local treasury and the other dollar is sent by the local organization to our Dominion Headquarters, 316 Lagache Street West, Montreal, Que. In case no local has been established in your community, send the membership fee of \$2.00 directly to Dominion Headquarters.

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